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QRDYNAMIC - New York City, N.Y. and Munich, Germany - Support of ZP/UHVR (Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrains'koyi Holovnoyi Vyzvol'noyi Rady - Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) FY 1972 Cost \$ ()

	Approved	<u>Obligated</u>
FY 1966	\$ <i>E</i>]	\$2.2
FY 1967	נ י ב	
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FY 1969	E _]	
FY 1970	<i>E</i>]	
FY 1971		C _](as of 28 Feb. 71)

Purpose

The purpose of Project QRDYNAMIC, the Agency's only CA project directed against a non-Russian nationality group in the USSR, is to exploit nationalistic, cultural and other dissident tendencies which exist in Ukraine, and to exert pressure on the Soviet regime for greater national and intellectual freedom. QRDYNAMIC appeals to dissident elements in Ukraine to whom it lends its moral, political and material assistance. It attempts to stimulate and widen the scope of their activities by publishing literary, political, historical works conducive to the awakening and growth of national consciousness. QRDYNAMIC sends to Ukraine newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, books published in the West, establishes ties with Soviet Ukrainians travelling in foreign countries, especially with the intellectuals participating in the international conferences; and makes personal contacts with dissidents in Ukraine. It is noted, incidentally, that in the USSR and in Ukrainian emigre circles in the West the target country is currently referred to as "Ukraine" rather than "the Ukraine." This paper will therefore follow this accepted usage.

Description

Publication activity of Project QRDYNAMIC is handled through the Prolog Research Corporation of New York, N.Y., a commercial organization. All publications originate in Europe through the ZP/UHVR affiliate Ukrainische Gesellschaft für Auslandstudien (Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad), in Munich, Germany, also known as Suchasnist Verlag (publishers). Operational contact is



GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic

downgrading and declassification limited to the New York Office, with no contact in Germany. The principal agent, Mykola Lebed, is President of Prolog Corporation; Vice Presidents are Dr. Myroslav Prokop and Anatol Kaminsky, in charge of publications and operations respectively. Operational contact by the Headquarters case officer is with one or all of the above officials, by personal visits on roughly a monthly basis, and by frequent mail and telephone contact. The Munich office is responsible for the publication of the monthly political-literary magazine <u>Suchasnist</u> (The Present) and books in the Ukrainian language. Both designations, "Prolog" and "Suchasnist," are used as the publisher of the books.

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Changes

In August 1970 the project formerly known as AERODYNAMIC was transferred from the Soviet Bloc Division to the Covert Action Staff, and redesignated QRDYNAMIC. There was no change of case officer. Within the Prolog Corporation, minor personnel changes have taken place, including the retirement of three surplus employees in the Munich office, and one in New York. One additional part-time clerical employee is being added in New York. An officer of the company will retire on 1 January 1972, and two presently part-time employees will become full time as of that date.

Accomplishments

Under the direction of the Operations Officer, Anatol Kaminsky, the numerous unwitting collaborators of ZP/UHVR and Prolog in the United States and Europe maintain contact with official and nonofficial visiting Ukrainians, and with tourists, students and other legal travelers into the USSR, with the dual purpose of infiltrating Prolog material and eliciting information of CA or FI value. Liaison has been established with Ukrainian writers in Yugoslavia and a Ukrainian-Hungarian translator and slavicist in Budapest. These contacts should prove useful in future distribution and acquisition efforts. Kaminsky and his closest and most trusted collaborators have made personal contacts among representatives to the Ukrainian Mission at the United Nations.

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In the second half of 1970 ZP/UHVR had over 40 contacts with Ukrainian intellectual dissenters. Two collaborators participated in the Historical Congress in Moscow in August 1970. They were instrumental in establishing and widening scholarly contacts in Moscow, Kiev and Lvov. Professional cooperation between Prolog collaborators and intellectuals in Ukraine has proved very fruitful.

Mrs. A.H. Horbatsch, the author of a collection of Soviet Ukrainian poetry translated into German under the title <u>Ein Brunnen fur Durstige</u> (A Well for the Thirsty), participated in a literary soiree on 22 September 1970 in Kiev, which was arranged as a meeting of the editor and translator with several poets. While younger writers highly praised the anthology and proposed that the West German publisher be thanked by the Union of Writers of Ukraine, their older colleagues and party hacks criticized the anthology. 1

The acquisition of Ukrainian dissident self-published literature (Ukrainian "samvydav"; Russian "samizdat") has declined significantly during the past calendar year due to internal repression and a security problem in the acquisition net (discussed under Problems) which now appears to be improving. In contrast to over fifty documents acquired in 1969, only 10 were obtained during 1970. One major document has been published as a book "Ukrains'ka Intelehentsia pid Sudom KGB" (Ukrainian Intellectuals persecuted by the KGB). "Khronika Oporu" (Chronicle of Resistance) and "Sered Snihiv" (Among the Snows) by the recently condemned Valentyn Moroz will be published in early issues of <u>Suchasnist</u>, as will a collection of poetry by the dissident Ukrainian poet Thor Kalynets. A second edition of "Internationalism or Russification" by Ivan Dzyuba appeared in September 1970. An English-language collection of Ukrainian samvydav, "Ferment in the Ukraine," edited by Michael Browne, will be published by MacMillan in London in May 1971.

From July 1970 until 1 February 1971 a total of 13,075 books, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers were sent to the Soviet Bloc, primarily to Ukraine either by mail or by personal distribution (See Annex 5 for details). Books published during the first half of FY 1971, and books which will appear during the remainder of the fiscal year are described in Annex 3.

From the beginning of 1970 it became evident that the Soviets had decided to embark upon a harsher policy toward the opposition forces in Ukraine. This policy was ushered in at the meeting of the Presidium of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, at which dissident author Ivan Dzyuba was forced to disassociate himself from the foreign editors of his book <u>Internationalism or Russification</u>, which was published abroad both in English and Ukrainian in 1968. The attack against Dzyuba was followed by an official Soviet acknowledgement of the existence of the <u>Letter from the Creative</u> <u>Youth of Dnipropetrovsk</u>. The letter proved to be one of the most valuable pieces of Ukrainian samvydav from a city which up to that

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time seemed to be beyond the sphere of the activities of Ukrainian dissidents. Signed by 300 students, workers and intellectuals, the letter represented a scathing attack against the oppressive measures of the Soviet regime, particularly against the Russification policy. Unlike Dzyuba, the alleged authors of the Letter were put on trial and sentenced to various prison terms.

Approximately at the same time the first issue of <u>Ukrains'kyy</u> <u>Visnyk</u> (Ukrainian Herald) and Valentyn Moroz's <u>Khronika oporu</u> (Chronicle of Resistance) appeared in Ukraine. <u>Subsequently the</u> latter was published in the October issue of the <u>Ukrains'kyy</u> <u>Samostijnyk</u>. On 1 June 1970 Moroz, who in the fall of 1969 had been released from prison after four years of detention, was arrested again and on 15 November 1970 sentenced to a new term of 14 years. The above cited cases provided an impetus for such repressive measures against other dissidents as temporary arrests, house searches, discharges from jobs, refusal to register them for residence and intimidation of their families.

The Prolog Operations officer and a close collaborator and future Prolog employee, Roman Kupchinsky (see "Future Plans") attended the Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan for three weeks in August-September 1970. They met and assessed several Soviet citizens, including the director of the Soviet Pavilion, an identified KGB officer. They mailed Prolog publications to the USSR, and in general preformed creditably from both an FI and CA standpoint.

To date during FY 1970, four intelligence reports prepared by Kaminsky have been disseminated.

A Media Effectiveness Annex is attached to this renewal request as Annex 6.

Problems

An important link in the chain of acquisition of Ukrainian samvydav, a university professor in Czechoslovakia, began suddenly in September 1970 to demand large sums of money for this dissident material, up to \$4,000 per document, claiming that the money would be used to finance the revolutionary activities of a group called "U-29" (no explanation of this term) inside Ukraine. This contact has probably been coopted or recruited by the KGB to aid their program of insinuating themselves into the communications net used by Ukrainian dissidents, then to the dissidents themselves, by presenting hard evidence that they are receiving financial support from organized emigre groups in the West, all of whom are

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considered by the KGB to be supported by Western intelligence services. Kaminsky and his collaborators in Western Europe have naturally refused to deal with this person on the logical grounds that his organization, the ZP/UHVR, has no funds for the purchase of this material, however sympathetic they may be to the dissident cause. Through other more trusted but less direct contacts, he has warned key internal dissident personalities not to deal with any representative of the so-called "U-29" group. Kaminsky is in the process of developing alternate channels of samvydav acquisition, slower, less direct, but eventually more reliable. This situation will be closely monitored during the coming year, and Kaminsky has been instructed to conduct a thorough security review of all contacts connected with this acquisition channel.

Allied with the above-mentioned problem is the present reluctance of Ukrainian dissidents to exfiltrate samvydav to the West. KGB repression, best demonstrated by the unusually harsh 14-year sentence received by Valentyn Moroz, is genuinely feared by other prominent dissident authors such as Ivan Svitlichnyy and Vyacheslav Chornovil. These oppositionists have informed Prolog Operations Officer Kaminsky through contacts that they are worried about the capabilities of the KGB not solely because of their personal safety, but because the small number of hard-core dissidents are so well known to security organs that the release of large quantities of samvydav to the West might result in mass arrests which would emasculate if not annihilate the entire Ukrainian dissident movement. Again, it is hoped that an eventual improvement of this situation will allow for a resumption of the flow of dissident material at least at the level of a year ago.

The normal problem of increasing production costs continues to plague the project. Salaries of key personnel, which as pointed out in the FY 1970 renewal are inordinately low, were raised by 10% at Headquarters direction effective 1 January 1971, at which time the QRDYNAMIC principals were told that Headquarters would absorb the increased cost if they were unable to do so. This may necessitate a project amendment for about \$() at the end of FY 1971. At some juncture during the coming fiscal year the principals should receive another cost-of-living increase of perhaps 5%. With present budgetary limitations, however, the continuing rise in overhead works to the increasing detriment of the operational objectives of the project.

Prolog Corporation has had for many years a self-administered employees' pension plan, based on the purchase of mutual funds.

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Due to the lack of expert management and recent reverses in the stock market, this plan has proven to be inadequate. CA Staff is working with OGC and Office of Personnel on ways to improve the pension plan and to insure each employee a realistic return on his investment. It is hoped that a solution to this problem may be reached prior to the beginning of FY 1972.

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Coordination

Project QRDYNAMIC (then AERODYNAMIC) was approved by the 303 Committee in December 1969, and will be submitted to the 40 Committee in April 1971.

Future Plans

Despite rising production costs, Prolog plans to continue the publication of books and articles on the problems of national minorities and related dissidence inside the Soviet Union. The persistent problem of inflation will force QRDYNAMIC principals to be much more selective in choosing materials for publication in book form. We may expect further reductions in the size of the Prolog staff in the years to come, due to retirements. The trend of replacing some of the aging persons with more aggressive and younger people has begun, so that a reduction in the size of the staff can be compensated for by this infusion of younger blood.

During the next fiscal year Prolog plans to publish seven books and twelve pamphlets based on dissident samvydav materials acquired by the contact operations directed by the project's operations officer. (See Annex 5) It is hoped that an improvement in the security of the acquisition and distribution net will result in a quantitative and qualitative increase in samvydav.

One young and promising collaborator in New York, who is not yet witting of CIA interest and support, will join Prolog Research as a full-time staffer in January 1972. This man, Roman Kupchinsky, is a first lieutenant in the U.S. Army Intelligence reserve, and had a tour in Viet Nam prior to resuming his interrupted studies at Long Island University in early 1970. Kupchinsky, who is 27 years old, is intensely interested in the subject of dissidence in the Soviet Ukraine, and as a political science major has decided to devote his career to the matter. He will be met by the QRDYNAMIC case officer and made officially witting of CIA support in midsummer 1971. This deep interest on the part of young men like Kupchinsky is an encouraging factor in any assessment of the future of this project.

Costs

(1) <u>General</u>

It is requested that Project QRDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1972 in the amount of \$231,000.

(2) Source of Funds

Funds for QRDYNAMIC were included in the FY 1972 Operating Program in the amount of \$231,000. The FY 1973 Operating Program will include \$250,000 for this activity.

Budget Breakdown

	FY 1970	FY 1971	FY 1972	FY 1973
Payroll and Fringe Benefits				
Salaries	\$ 80,400	\$ 87,600	\$ 99,975	\$
Contribution to Employee Pension Plan	4,000	4,284	5,574	
Insurance	2,000	2,550	3,051	
Dues and Registration	100	100	100	
Total Payroll and Fringe Benefits	\$ 86,500	\$94,534	\$108,700	\$115,000
Fixed Expenses				
Rent	3,450	3,500	3,800	
Electricity	350	300	400	
Telephone	1,900	1,600	1,500	
Stationery, Postage, Office Equipment	2,500	2,600	1,900	
Taxes and Licenses	4,000	4,500	5,500	
Maintenance and Repair	200	200	200	
Bank Service	50	50	50	

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	<u>FY 1970</u>	<u>FY 1971</u>	<u>FY 1972</u>	<u>FY 1973</u>
Depreciation and Obsolescence	500	500	600	
Foreign Exchange Losses	50	50	50	
Misc. small expenses	1,500	400	500	
Total Fixed Expenses	\$ 14,500	\$ 13,700	\$ 14,500	\$ 15,000
Operating Expenses				
Travel	5,000	7,000	5,000	
Entertainment	200	100	100	
Purchase of books and publications	700	666	1,100	
Affiliated Group (Munich)	C	ΙC)(`)
Research (Includes contact operations)	() ()()
Total Operational Expenses Total Budget	\$() (_)	\$`() ()	\$C)	\$_() ()

(3) Foreign Funds

Approximately 40% of all Project QRDYNAMIC funds are expended in German and other West European currencies. Conversion from U.S. dollars is handled by Prolog Corporation.

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(4) Commitments

No special commitments have been made.

(5) Funding

Subsidy payments are made in accordance with instructions provided by Central Cover Staff to bank accounts of the Prolog Research Corporation in New York or its branch office in Munich, Germany.

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(6) Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency Regulations and the QRDYNAMIC Administrative Plan.

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(7) Administrative Plan

Very minor revisions in the current Administrative Plan for QRDYNAMIC (attached as Annex 7) are being made to bring it into line with current operating procedures. \checkmark

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- (8) <u>Annexes</u>
 - 1. Budget Summary
 - 2. Payroll
 - 3. Publishing Program for FY 1971
 - 4. Publishing Program for FY 1972
 - 5. Distribution of Books
 - 6. Media Effectiveness Annex
 - 7. Administrative Plan

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ANNEX 1				
BUI	DGET SUMMARY			
	FY 1969	<u>FY 1970</u> <u>FY 1971</u> (estimated)		
Cash Resources				
Beginning cash balance Subsidy	\$ C } C }	\$ () \$ () () ()		
Income from sales of books and subscriptions Total Cash Resources Available Less Contingency Fund Total Cash Available	5,000.00 C <u>\$`C</u>)	$\begin{array}{cccc} 4,800.00 & 4,700.00 \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & &$		
Expenditures				
Payroll and fringe benefits New York Office Fixed expenses (office administration) Operational travel Purchase of books and publications Entertainment Cost of publishing Distribution costs Contact operations Affiliated group (Munich) Research Total Expenditures	\$ 80,468.40 13,559.32 5,170.00 700.00 100.00 (2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2			
Summary				
Total Cash Less Total expenses Ending Cash balance	\$`() _() \$()	\$() \$() \$() \$()		

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* Since accountings are available for only 3/4 of FY 1971, it is probable that total annual expenditures will exceed the amount estimated.

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ANNEX 2

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New York Office

		Per A	nnum Rates
	FY 1970	F <u>Y 1971</u>	<u>FY 1972</u>
QRDYNAMIC/2 /17 /29 /27 /4 /11 /63 /64 /57 /72	\$12,900 12,000 12,000 11,400 9,300 5,370 5,400 7,500	\$13,500 12,600 12,000 9,900 5,400 6,000 8,400	\$14,850 13,860 13,200 10,395 (*c) 5,670 8,820 7,800 7,800 7,800
Sub-total	\$75,870	\$80,400	\$96,255
<u>Part-time</u>			
QRDYNAMIC/57 /69	\$ 4,060 	\$ 4,200 3,000	\$ 3,720
Total New York Office	\$82,870	\$87,600	\$ <u>99,975</u>
Munich Office			
QRDYNAMIC/8 /60 /10 /30 /61 /6	\$ 3,981 3,684 3,534 3,000 2,850 2,235	\$23,500 (*b)	\$ (*c) 4,333 3,334 3,333
Part-time M.H. (typist)	1,284		
Total Branch Office (*a)	<u>\$20,568</u>	<u>\$23,500</u>	<u>\$11,000</u>

(*a) This amount included in "Affiliated group" figure in budget breakdown.

(*b) Personnel changes under consideration. Exact salaries not determined at time of submission.

(*c) QRDYNAMIC/11 retires as of 1 May 1971. QRDYNAMIC/57 becomes fulltime during Summer 1971 and as of 1 January 1972. New employee QRDYNAMIC/72 also summer and 1 January 1972. Some editorial duties shifted from Munich, where only three employees remain.

ANNEX 3

PUBLISHING PROGRAM FOR FY 1971

Publisher is Suchasnist, Munich, unless otherwise specified.

1. Sliptsi - The Blind Men

Author: Mykola Bazhan Date of Publication: July 1970

Number of Copies: 750

This is an early work by Bazhan which was withdrawn from publication in the 1930's for its political implications. The 60-page reprint also contains an analytical introduction by Bohdan Krawciw. It is meant mainly for distribution in Ukraine and other East European countries.

2. Za Suchasnu Kontseptsiyu Ukrainskoyi Revolutsiyi (For the Contemporary Concept of the Ukrainian Revolution)

Author: Anatol Kaminsky

Date of Publication: July 1970

Number of Copies: 1,000

Analyzing the strong and weak features of the Soviet system, the author discusses the chances of the evolutionary and revolutionary processes in the Soviet Union with specific reference to Ukraine. He also deals with the interaction of the evolutionary and revolutionary processes, as well as with the revolutionary experiences of Ukrainians in the recent past. This publication is meant for distribution in Ukraine and East Europe.

3. Ukrains'ka Intelihentsiya Pid Sudom KGB (Ukrainian Intellectuals Tried by the KGB)

> Edited By: Myroslaw Prokop Date of Publication: August 1970 Number of Copies: 2,000

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This 251-page publication is a collection of samvydav; additional, previously unpublished new documents on the trials of Ukrainian intellectual in the 1960's and protests against them.

4. Zhak Fatalist (Jacques the Fatalist)

Author: D. Diderot (translated by Ivan Koszeliwets)

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Date of Publication: August 1970

Number of Copies: 750

The anti-conformist views expressed in this French work are of some parallel relevance to present-day stratified Soviet society. Recently a great interest in this and other works by Diderot has been expressed by literary circles in Ukraine.

5. Kappa Crucis

Author: Wira Wowk

Date of Publication: September 1970 (Second corrected edition)

Number of Copies: 600

A 61-page collection of poems on various subjects which should be of great interest to the reader in Ukraine. At the same time this collection was to be a further back-up for the author's popularity among Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals with whom she maintains wide contacts. Wira Wowk is a close collaborator of ZP/UHVR.

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6. Znyshchennia Ukrayinskoyi Katolytskoyi Tserkvy (Destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church)

Author: Rev. I. Hryniokh

Date of Publication: November 1970

Number of Copies: 700 (Reprint from two issues of Suchasnist A 56-page pamphlet describing the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in West Ukraine in 1945/1946 and after. The pamphlet was meant for distribution in Ukraine and East Europe.

7. Poezyi Nyuyorks'koyi Grupy #11 (Poetry of the New York Group #11)

Author: Bohdan Boychuk, Bohdan Rubchak, Oleh Koverko, Wira Wowk, and Others

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Date of Publication: November 1970

Number of Copies: 650

Printed: In Ruski Krstur, Yugoslavia by Stamparija "Ruske Slovo"

This is a collection of modern emigre poetry meant also for distribution in Ukraine and East Europe for the purpose of publicizing young emigre authors. The publication of this collection in Yugoslavia was to serve as a additional means of strengthening Prolog's foothold in this country and developing further contacts with Yugoslav Ukrainians.

8. Molod' Dnipropetrovska v Borot'bi Proty Rusyfikatsiyi (The Youth of Dnipropetrovs'k in a Fight Against Russification)

Edited By: Myroslav Prokop

Date of Publication: March 1971

Number of Copies: 700

A 40-page pamphlet consisting of the samvydav protest of Dnipropetrovs'k youth against Russification, materials on the Sokulsky - Kulchynsky - Savchenko trial in Dnipropetrovs'k, and articles on this affair in the local Soviet press. The publication is scheduled for distribution in Ukraine and East Europe.

9. Nikifor

Author: Wadym Lesytch

Date of Publication: March 1971

Number of Copies: 500

Monograph on a noted Ukrainian primitive painter who lived in Poland, supplementing similar works done within a context of a general contemporary trend among Ukrainian intellectuals to find the original sources of Ukrainian art.

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10. Herostraty (Herostrates)

Author: Emma Andiyevska

Date of Publication: March 1971

Number of Copies: 1,500

A novel of more than 350 pages dealing with the life of the Ukrainian emigration, meant primarily as a good example of modern Ukrainian emigre literature in contrast to Soviet socialist-realism. This will be distributed in Ukraine.

11. Try Pyesy (Three Plays)

Author: G. Lorca (translated by Wira Wowk)

Date of Publication: April 1971

Number of Copies: 500

This translation was done on the suggestion of some dissident Ukrainian translators in Ukraine for the purpose of giving them an argument in their efforts to induce authorities to permit them to translate other Western and South American authors.

12. Zrub i Parosti (Stumps and Sprouts)

Author: Yu. Lawrinenko

Date of Publication: April 1971

Number of Copies: 1,000

Collection of more than 400 pages of politico-literary essays on Soviet Ukrainian literature, meant primarily for distribution in Ukraine.

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13. F. Villon

Translated by: Svyatoslav Hordyns'kyy

Date of Publication: June 1971

Number of Copies: 500

This translation was done on the suggestion of Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals in order to provide Soviet Ukrainian translators with an argument in their efforts to induce authorities to permit them to translate French writers.

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ANNEX	4
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PUBLISHING PROGRAM FOR FY 1972

1.	I. Rudnytski: Mizh Istoriyeyu to Politykoyu (Between History and Politics)	\$ Ľ	2
2.	I. Koshelivec: Skrypnyk, Part I (Cabinet maker)	\$ E	Д
3.	I. Koshelivec: Skrypnyk, Part II	\$ E	Г
4.	B. Krawciw: Glossariy - Sonety (Glossary - Sonnets)	\$ [IJ
5.	I. Majstrenko: Storinky z Istoriyi Komunistych- noyi Partiyi Ukrayiny, Part III (Pages from the History of the Ukrainian Communist Party)	\$ [E
6.	A. Kaminsky: Na Perechrestiach Polityki i Psycholohiyi (At the crossroads of Policy and Psychology	\$ E	Ц
7.	E. Malaniuk: Posmertna Zbirka (Posthumous Hunters)	\$ [ב
8-19.	12 pamphlets-reprints	\$ E	_]
	Total Publishing Program for FY 1972	\$5	_]

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1,451

124

70

558

326

31

2,560

914

(From 1 July 1970 to 1 February 1971) <u>Books Mailed To</u>: USSR Poland Bulgaria and Hungary

Czechoslovakia Rumania

Yugoslavia

Total Books Mailed Books hand-carried to the USSR and East Europe and handed to Soviet citizens in the USSR 852 Books handed to Soviet citizens in the West 62

Total Books Distributed

Pamphlets, Newspapers and Magazines

Mailed to USSR15Mailed to UkSSR531Mailed to Ukrainians living in
East Europe418Handed to Soviet citizens in the West29Handed to Soviet citizens in the USSR82Tatel DependenceNeuropeence

Total Pamphlets, Magazines, Newspapers Distributed

1,075

Project Publications

Suchasnist		
Mailed to USSR	103	
Mailed to UkSSR	1,052	
Mailed to Poland	406	
Mailed to other East Europe countries	356	
<u>Ukrainskyi Samostijnyk</u>		
Mailed to USSR	21	
Mailed to UkSSR	1,032	
Mailed to Poland	293	
Mailed to other East Europe Countries	91	
Information Bulletin		
Mailed to UkSSR	5,017	
Mailed to Poland	29	
Mailed to other East Europe Countries	126	
Total Project Publications Mailed		8,526
Grand Total Number of Literature Distributed		13,075

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ANNEX 6

MEDIA EFFECTIVENESS ANNEX

Prolog Research Corporation, the publishing and research arm of the ZP/UHVR, uses the literary talents of Ukrainian emigre writers without regard for their political affiliation, as well as the works of authors inside Ukraine who must often remain anonymous for reasons of personal security. Prolog monitors developments in all aspects of Soviet Ukrainian life, analyzes current Soviet press, radio and books and collects information from Soviet citizens through its program of direct contact and through correspondence between Soviet citizens and the extensive network of ZP/UHVR collaborators. The information thus obtained is exploited in Prolog publications.

ZP/UHVR Publications

1. Suchasnist (The Present), published monthly in Munich, is designed to appeal to the educated Ukrainian reader. The journal carries articles of literary, political and historical interest, prose and poetry by Soviet and emigre writers, and surfaces dissident documents brought to the West. It also publishes articles on special topics to support Soviet Ukrainian dissident activities in the politicalcultural field. Suchasnist is attacked in the Soviet press more often than any other Ukrainian-language emigre publication. The magazine is purchased regularly by the Soviet Ukrainian Mission at the United Nations through a New York book dealer, and most Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals with whom there has been contact have stated they have read the journal in the Soviet Union.

2. <u>Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk</u> (Ukrainian Independent) is the monthly publication of a splinter emigre organization and is partially supported from project funds. The journal is influenced by the ZP/UHVR, and includes contributions from ZP/UHVR collaborators.

3. The French-language <u>Echos d'Ukraine</u>, published irregularly in Paris, is distributed gratis to French scholars and to intellectuals in the newly developed areas of the free world. <u>Echos d'Ukraine</u> carries commentary on the Soviet press and on current events in the Soviet Union.

4. <u>Informatsiyniy Byulletin</u> (Information Bulletin), published about five times a year, is directed specifically toward Soviet Ukrainians. It carries news items concerning subjects of political or national interest to Soviet Ukrainians which are not carried in the Soviet press. Approximately 400 copies annually are mailed to Ukrainians living in Soviet bloc countries.

5. Books-Published and Planned. See Annexes 3 and 4 for details. The purpose of these books is to stimulate Ukrainian national consciousness, expose Soviet nationality policies, and to supply information and analysis on current political, cultural and literary events in the West. Some are in response to direct demands from dissidents and based on their own data from Ukraine, as in case of S. Hordynskyy's article on plundering of historical monuments and artistic treasures in Ukraine (Suchasnist January 1971). An important book published in 1970 was the collection Ukrains'ka Intelihentsia pid sudom KGB (Ukrainian Intellectuals Tried by the KGB) composed of the samvydav documents supplied by our contacts.

Action Programs

Over forty contacts with Ukrainian internal dissidents have been made to date during FY 1971 by the ZP/UHVR.

It has been ascertained by collaborators visiting Ukraine that their visits are of essential importance to dissidents. Personal contacts which have developed into friendship are instrumental in stimulating dissident activities, strengthening their morale, and in working out a common strategy in an endeavor to exert pressure on the regime for greater intellectual and national freedom. Of particular importance is unbiased information on developments in the outside world, about cultural and political trends and particularly about the reaction in the world to dissident activities. Ukrainian dissidents were elated over the wide publicity given in the West to the cases of Dzyuba and Chornovil. At present they are dismayed by the fact that, in their view, very little has been done to publicize the injustice done to Valentyn Moroz.

Personal contacts have also been established and enlarged with Ukrainians in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, which are viewed as bridgeheads to Ukraine.

Two collaborators worked on translation of West European, North American and Latin American authors together with their Soviet Ukrainian colleagues. Further literary and personal contacts have been developed and increased. Supplies of books and other material have been made available for translator use in Ukraine. At least two translations were made in the West following a suggestion made by Soviet Ukrainian writers. Their standing in official circles is strengthened when they ask permission to translate original foreign books.

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Internal Reaction to ZP/UHVR Publications

KGB repression has failed to scare off the dissidents in Ukraine, and in fact has led to an increase in national consciousness of a public which is becoming aware of the activities of the dissidents. Repression has also strengthened the position of the dissidents as a political force. The campaign of vigilance and repression waged on the eve of the 24th Congress of the CPSU may temporarily weaken the opposition forces, but in the long run it will contribute to the strength of dissent in Russia as well as in Ukraine. Dzyuba's book was primarily directed against the aberrations of the "personality cult" era and represented a call for the "return to Leninism" in the nationality policies of the Party bureaucrats for their chauvinistic policy. At the same time Valentyn Moroz, in his Chronicle of Resistance, excoriates the Party and its Ukrainian stooges for a wanton and indiscriminate plundering of the Ukrainian cultural heritage. The emotions generated by this sort of crime may be quite different from those produced by the reading of Dzyuba's appeals for "the return to Leninism."

During 1970 the Soviet Ukrainian press and radio made twentyfive major attacks against Prolog, the ZP/UHVR and the two monthly magazines. Persistent calls for vigilance against these publications suggest a concern on the part of Soviet authorities that the dissidents are being encouraged and strengthened by Prolog material. The apparent penetration of Prolog's distribution net, outlined in the Problems Section of this renewal request is clear evidence of the KGB's preoccupation with Prolog's activities. Typical of the attacks leveled against Prolog are the following:

<u>Movoznavstvo</u> (Linguistics) July-August 1970, published a harsh attack on leading emigre linguists by M. Tarasyuk entitled "Their Ideological Position (The Bourgeois Nationalist Press on Ukrainian Language and Linguistics)." The author accuses emigre linguists Yu. Shevelyov, O. Horbach and V. Chaplenko, who contribute to <u>Suchasnist and Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk</u>, of treating Ukrainian linguistics from the standpoint of Russification and assimilation policies in the Soviet Union. M. Tarasyuk is particularly incensed by O. Horbach's report of the Prague 1968 and the Sofia 1963 International Congresses of Slavicists which appeared in <u>Suchasnist</u> and by Yu. Shevelyov's allegation in <u>Suchasnist</u> that the journal <u>Movoznavstvo</u> is nothing more than a "departmental bulletin with police duties."

On December 15, 1970, <u>Radio Kiev</u> attacked Anatol Kaminsky in a broadcast for Ukrainians living abroad, labelling him a "nationalist ideologist." The broadcast was written by Roman Symonenko, a doctor of historical sciences. Kaminsky's book, <u>For a Contempo-</u> <u>rary Concept of Ukrainian Revolution</u> (Za suchasnu kontseptsiyu ukrayinskoyi revolutsiyi) was published by Prolog in 1970.

The Publishers of Political Literature in Kiev published V. Cherednychenko's book <u>Nationalism Against the Nation</u> in 1970. The publication is an "expose" of the Ukrainian nationalist movement before and after World War II aimed at discrediting Ukrainian nationalist leaders, among them the ZP/UHVR President, Rev. Ivan Hrynioch and Prolog President Mykola Lebed.

In February 1971, a source of Kaminsky who resides in Winnipeg, Canada, reported a conversation with Roman Symonenko, a member of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev, who was in Canada on a UNESCO grant. Symonenko, who had attacked Kaminsky for his recent book in December 1970 (see above), stated that many emigre publications are available in Kiev (obviously only to those persons who have earned the confidence of the party) and that <u>Suchasnist</u> is generally considered to be the most "solid" of such publications.

FOURTH REVISED ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN FOR SB DIVISION CA PROJECT AERODYHAMIC

T. Terms of the Plan

1. The provisions of this Administrative Plan apply to the activities of AETENURE, an Agency-controlled mechanism within subsidy Project AENODYNAMIC and AETERNACE, the subsidized European office of AETENURE.

II. Organization and Management of Cover Corporation

2. AUTENURE has been incorporated under the laws of New York as a conmercial taxable enterprise for the (ostensible) purpose of research and study of international Communism as specified in the Certificate of Incorporation.

3. Basic policy guidance and direction of AETENDRE activities is provided by WOFIRM through the project case officer in meetings with the President of AETENDRE or with other officers, as appropriate. For cover purposes the Board of Directors has responsibility for conduct of AETEADRE activities in accordance with its charter and by laws, and subject to the following limitations and requirements:

a. Amendments to the charter and by laws will require the prior approval of the SE Division and the concurrence of General Counsel.

b. AETENURE will not perform services for fees nor solicit for funds without the approval of SB Division and the concurrence of the Central Cover Staff.

c. All officers and directors shall be approved by S& Division. In addition, the treasurer shall be approved by the Office of Finance.

d. All funds received by ANTENURE shall be deposited in an AETENURE WOLARY bank account. Withdrawal from this account shall require the signature of two of the officers of AETENURE,



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except that withdrawals of \$500 or less shall need only one signature. The SB Division shall advise the Office of Finance, upon request, of the name and address of the bank in which the AETENDER account is carried, the title of the account and the authorized signatories thereon. All AETENDER bank accounts shall be reconciled, and if feasible, by persons other than these signing checks. The reconciliation shall be signed by the person proparing it, and shall be reviewed and signed by the person reviewing it.

e. AETENURE is not authorized to borrow or lend funds, except for occasional educational loans not to exceed \$500 each to students with operational potential.

f. The leasing of office space shall require the prior approval of SE Division. The purchase and disposal of real estate shall require the prior approval of SE Division and the Office of Logistics.

g. Any contract or commitments, other than for personal services, in excess of \$5,000 per year or in excess of six months shall require the prior approval of SB Division.

h. Travel and subsistence expenses incurred by the owners, officers, directors, employees and any individual retained in a professional or independent contractor capacity on a fee basis, shall be paid on an actual cost basis. Reimbursement for subsistence expenses shall not exceed \$10.00 per day in encess of the WOPIRM authorized per diom rate for the locality. Air transportation less costly than first class shall be used to the extent practicable. Travel expenses incurred by staff agents or contract personnel wholly integrated into the project (but not staff employees) may be reimbursed on the same basis. These expenses, as recorded on ALTENURE's quarterly accountings, are equated with project personnel activities and production by the SB Division case officer to evaluate the reasonableness of such expenditures. Operational entertainment expenses

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incurred by any of the above personnel may also be reimbursed on an actual cost basis, in accordance with HNS 30-1, Chapter IX, to the extent that such expenses are reasonable and necessary to the accomplishment of operational objectives. Expenditures authorized in this paragraph shall be reviewed during periodic WOFIRM audits.

1. The requirements of HR 230-9 will apply to the salaries and other benefits of AETHNURE employees, and no commitment regarding benefits or insurance coverage will be made to corporate personnel until such commitments have been reviewed and approved by DDP/MPS (CSR 20-41).

j. AETENURE employees who have completed one full year of continuous service participate in a group retirement plan to which the employees and the employer each contribute 5% of the employee's salary. The funds are invested in mutual funds stocks. The retirement plan was approved by the Director of Personnel on 23 July 1964, and by the Chief, DDP/PE on 28 July 1964.

III. Protoction of WOFIRM Interest

4. Signed Memoranda of Understanding setting forth the relationship of AETENURE with WOFIRM are not required of the present members of the Beard of Directors. MOFIRM has been supporting the organization since 1950, and during this entire period the AETENURE officials have been most cooperative and entirely willing to accept WOFIRM guidance and direction. It is felt that at this late date they would not understand the reasons for formal documentation of the relationship and the effectiveness of the operation would be impaired. It shall be the responsibility of the SB Division to ensure that the Chairman of the Board of Directors Always is aware of the authorities and responsibilities imposed upon AETENDRE by this Plan, and to provide a Memorandum of Oral Understanding to this effect to the Office of Finance and Office of Coneral Counsel.

5. In the case of stock-issuing instrumentality, all ostensible shareholders of stock shall endorse in blank the -4

stock certificates issued in their names. Bunl declarations of trust shall be obtained for these stock certificates. In addition, the trustees, officers and directors of an instrumentality shall execute undated letters of resignation which shall be retained by the Agency component responsible for the project. The executed stock certificates, declarations of trust, evidencing Agency interest in instrumentalities will be forwarded promptly to the Froprietary Systems and Accounts Division, Office of Finance, for recording and custody.

IV. Rudget

6. A basic budget detailing the estimated income and expenses for each office maintained by the organization shall be drawn up by the principal scont(s) on or before 1 February of each year for the ensuing fiscal year beginning 1 July. Those estimates will be analyzed by the responsible case efficer who, if the budget is satisfactory, shall request approval for the uxpenditure of funds for the fiscal year beginning 1 July and for the succeeding fiscal year through the inclusion of the financial requirements in SM Division's Annual Operational Frogram. Based on this basic budget, the case officer, in collaboration with the Budget Division, shall then prepare the detailed budget for the upcoming fiscal year, by category of expenditure, for incorporation in the annual formal presentation of the project to the approving authorities.

V. Funding

VI. Accounting and Poporting

3. AETENURE shall maintain financial records and accounts of a type consistent with its estensible character,

as prescribed or approved by the Office of Finance, and shall submit to the SB Division on a quarterly basis the following financial statements (except the annual statement of fixed assets) within 30 days following the close of each calendar quarter:

(1) Balance Sheet.

(2) Statement of Income and Expense. Disbursements made to AETENURE independent field contacts will be reported under the "research" category and will not be itemized. However, separate accounts will be maintained for these expenses.

(3) Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursewonts prepared in a manner to clearly distinguish between funds received from MOPLER and non-WOPLEM sources, if applicable.

(4) Annual Statement of Fixed Assets. The president of AETENURE, or his designee, shall attach to these financial statements his certification that, to his best knowledge and belief, they accurately reflect the financial status of AETENURE, and that the bank reconciliation has been reviewed through (date) the date of the most recent bank statement.

9. AETERRACE shall submit to AETENURE, within 15 days following the close of each calendar month, a Cash Receipts and Disbursement Statement to include cash on hand at the beginning of the period, income received in a manner to clearly distinguish between funds received from AETENURE and funds received from other sources, expenses by general categories and cash on hand at the end of the period. The principal agent of the overseas group, or his designee, shall attach to these financial statements his certification that, to his best knowledge and belief, they accurately reflect the financial status of AETERRACE activities and the dispesition of funds during the reporting period. These reports shall be transmitted by AETENURE to SE Division along with AETENURE's quarterly reporting.

10 The headquarters case officer shall review the financial statements required under paragraphs 3 and 9

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above, and, if in order, attach his certification that the disbursed funds covered thereby were expended for the purposes authorized, and submit the statements to the Division Approving Officer for approval. When approved, the original of each report will be forwarded to the Office of Finance and a copy to the Budget Division within 60 days after the quarterly period.

VII. Writcoff

11. The Office of Finance is authorized to accept the quarterly financial statements submitted by AETENURE, required under paragraph 8 above, when properly certified and approved, for appropriate recording in the account entitled "Investments in Agency-Controlled Activities within Subsidy Projects."

12. The Office of Finance is authorized to accept the quarterly financial statements from the overseas aroup, required under paragraph 9 above, when properly certified and approved, for appropriate recording in the Hemorandum Account.

VIII. Writeoff (Equipment and Supplies)

13. In the event that equipment and supplies are issued by the Office of Logistics to AETENURE, accountability for such items shall be operationally expended at the time of issue and shall be recorded in the AETENURE system of accounts.

IX. Socurity Policy

14. In the utilization of individuals under the project, any exceptions to the security policy as set forth in CSI 10-5 shall require the prior authorization of the CI Staff or the Office of Security as appropriate. Because neither NOFIRM nor AETENURE can exercise the type of control over AETERRACE that would permit the enforcement of the security policy as set forth in CSIF 10-5, its provisions do not apply to AETERRACE.

X. Audit

15. An audit program shall be developed and implemented

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in accordance with the requirements of NR 31-1. The prior approval of the Chief, Audit Staff is required for the employment of either witting or unwitting public accountants for audit purposes.

XI. Legal Services

16. Any attorney used by the project shall be selected or approved by the Office of General Counsel. The Office of General Counsel shall at all times be kept advised of the current status of the legal affairs of the activity and shall be responsible in each instance for accommodating its legal problems and for approving the use and the fee of outside counsel.

XIII. Investments

17. Before any corporate funds of the companies under this project may be invested in non-WOLADY securities or in interest bearing accounts, the concurrence of the Office of Finance and the approval of the Deputy Director, WOFINM, shall be obtained. All investments of project funds in WOLADY securities shall require the prior approval of the Office of Finance.

XIV. Liquidation

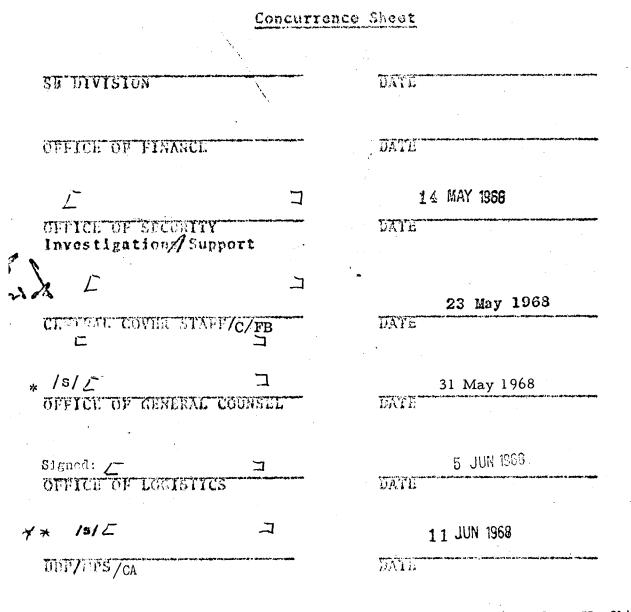
13. ABTENURE shall not be liquidated without the prior approval of the BDF and the BDS and only on the basis of an approved liquidation plan.

APPROVED, by the Direction of DDP:

	(Signed) [Г	1 0 JUL 1969
DDP/HPS	***************************************	an ' i faglang 'n ngegeraanteer daar diga say nije aray na faglaga	Date
APPROVED.	by the Dire	ction of BDS:	
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FOURTH REVISED ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN FOR SB DIVISION CA PROJECT AEROFYSAMIC

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*Subject to deletion of any reference to solicitation of funds. (see Para II, 3b)

+ * SEE ATTACHED CAVEAT

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